1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Each Pukapukan individual belongs, by the accident of birth, to six formal social groupings: a tribe, a village, a household group, a bilateral kin group, a grouping of maternal lineages, and a grouping of paternal lineages.

The name for both the island and the tribal grouping of the people as a whole is Te Ulu-o-te-watu. Though there are definite names for village and lineage groups, there is no defining name that may be properly applied to or translated as "tribe". No Pukapukan word expresses the idea of a family; no word is applied to a biological grouping of father, mother, and children. *Wanau* refers to a man's or a woman's family of children excluding the spouse. A man refers to his wife and children as his *fanau*, not including himself. A household group is referred to as a *yikwanga*, the precise meaning of which is a household lot or site; by extension, *yikwanga* is also applied to the establishment of one extended family, including land, houses, property, and persons thereof. When a person refers to a particular household group, he specifies: "te tangata o te yikwanga a nono I te ngutuwale o Mau" (the people of the *yikwanga* residing in the private house of So-and-so). The word *ngutuwale* refers to one of the several separate household units of the extended family group residing on the same *yikwanga*. Analysis of the composition of the household shows that a biological family does not reside in such *ngutuwale*. The household acts as a unit in the production of food for domestic consumption but is always subsumed by a larger group when large scale economic functions have to be carried out. The bilateral kin group is called *kaiki*, *mwekwaga*, or *pelipeli*. *Kaiki* is the word in common use, but the three words all refer to a person's maternal and paternal relatives.

To procure specific information on the various aspects of social organization a census was made of 54 sample households in Ngake and Ytau villages. In Ngake I went from house to house interviewing the oldest member of each household. In Ytau, where my knowledge of the household grouping was greater, I procured information without a house-to-house canvass. All disputed points as to lineage affiliation and the like were referred to a group of older men who acted as a board of judges.

VILLAGE MEMBERSHIP

Membership in a village (*kalu*) by birth, adoption, or formal affiliation gives the privilege of participating in village activities and food divisions. Every person belongs (*tau*) to one of the three villages and shares in the food divisions of that village. One asks, "Ko tau ia Mau i wea?" (Where does So-and-so share in village food divisions?). The answer is "Ko tau i Mau" (He shares in or affiliates with such-and-such a village). Because the men control village food divisions, each woman and child must affiliate through the agency of a man. Of a woman or child then, the further question is, "Ko ai ko taun?" (Who is it who sponsors her?). The mechanism of affiliation is as follows:

When a child is born, its parents and relatives decide where it is to affiliate. Generally this is in the village of its birth and residence and through the agency of its blood father. A child whose adoption is arranged for at birth belongs from infancy to